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ABSTRACT

During 1968 the board of education of Kalamazoo, Michigan appointed a committee on desegregation and charged the group with developing a master plan with target dates for desegregating all levels of the public school system. The committee recommended a detailed three page program that was to lead to total desegregation of local schools by September of 1971. The implementation of the plan was delayed by the school board after the election of new members opposed to the plan. After a district court trial ending in 1973 and an unsuccessful appeal by defendants in 1974, the U.S. Supreme Court refused in 1975 to review the lower courts' finding in the case, thus affirming the judge's original desegregation order. Kalamazoo's public schools are now in their sixth year of court ordered desegregation. The attendance plan implemented by the Kalamazoo Public schools under federal court order in 1971 has significantly reduced the degree of concentration of minority students in the schools of that district. Student interracial tensions have decreased during the 6 years of court ordered desegregation. Following an initial decline in student achievement scores during the first year of desegregation, test scores have risen consistently since 1972. (Author/AM)

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SCHOOL DESEGREGATION IN KALAMAZOO, MICHIGAN

A STAFF REPORT OF
THE UNITED STATES COMMISSION
ON CIVIL RIGHTS

April 1977

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH,
EDUCATION & WELFARE
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PREFACE

The United States Commission on Civil Rights released on August 24, 1976, its report to the Nation: Fulfilling the Letter and Spirit of the Law: Desegregation of the Nation's Public Schools.

The report's findings and recommendations were based upon information gathered during a 10-month school desegregation project. This included four formal hearings (Boston, Massachusetts; Denver, Colorado; Louisville, Kentucky; and Tampa, Florida); four open meetings held by State Advisory Committees (Berkeley, California; Corpus Christi, Texas; Minneapolis, Minnesota; and Stamford, Connecticut); a survey of nearly 1,300 local school districts; and 29 case studies of communities which had difficulties with desegregation, had moderate success with desegregation, or had substantial success with desegregation.

Subsequent to the report's release, considerable interest was generated concerning the specifics of the case study findings, which, owing to space limitations in the national report, were limited to a few brief paragraphs. In an effort to comply with public requests for more detailed information, Commission staff have prepared monographs for each of the case studies. These monographs were written from the extensive field notes already collected and supplemented, if needed, with further interviews in each community. They reflect, in detail, the original case study purpose of finding which local policies, practices, and programs in each community surveyed contributed to peaceful desegregation and which ones did not.

It is hoped that the following monograph will serve to further an understanding of the school desegregation process in this Nation.

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I. BACKGROUND

Kalamazoo is a city of 85,555 in southeastern Michigan. According to 1970 census figures, the city is home to about 8,500 black persons and approximately 1,580 persons of Hispanic origin. In 1975 the Kalamazoo Public Schools had a student population of 14,550, of whom 23 percent were black and 1.3 percent of Hispanic origin. Persons of minority background, mainly black, make up nearly 12 percent of the 905 faculty personnel employed by the local schools.

The national pattern of urban unrest in the late 1960s included racial disturbances in Kalamazoo's public schools.[1] Disturbances in the schools between 1967 and 1971 included protests regarding curriculum and integration of cheerleader squads, fights between groups of black and white students, individual violent assaults, and the closing of several schools.

In September 1968 and May 1970, prior to desegregation, schools were closed for several days because of racial incidents. The 1970 closure covered all schools for 1 week. Some early school dismissals were required during the 1970-71 school year because of racial incidents. During that 1-year period, the system experienced high absenteeism, used police to patrol some schools, and recorded scattered racial assaults in the schools. A junior high school principal stated that at one point as many as 20 racial group fights per day were occurring in his school, which he said was at that time 40 percent minority.[2]

Racial Imbalance

In 1968 more than 90 percent of all black public elementary school students in Kalamazoo attended 5 of the 29 public elementary schools. Among these, Northglade and Lincoln Elementary Schools were 88 and 96 percent minority, respectively. More than 95 percent of all black public

junior high school students attended three of the city's five public junior high schools. Most black high school students attended one of the system's two public high schools. (See appendices A and B.)

II. DEVELOPING A PLAN

During 1968 the board of education appointed a committee on desegregation, composed of school administrators and chaired by Superintendent of Schools John Cochran, and charged the group with "developing a master plan" with target dates for desegregating all levels of the Kalamazoo public school system. The committee was to find the means for gaining community approval and organizing staff inservice training for desegregation. In November 1968, after the committee had reviewed relevant literature, statistics, and other information, the superintendent released the committee's report entitled School Integration.[3] The report presented various options for desegregating the Kalamazoo schools but did not recommend any one means above others.

The administrative committee was superseded by the Kalamazoo Citizens' Committee on Integration (commonly known as the "Racial Balance Committee"), appointed by the board and charged with proposing specific methods for desegregating the schools. In its August 1969 report, the new citizens' committee recommended systemwide school desegregation using the "pairing" concept. Elementary schools were to be divided into "early elementary" (grades one to three) and "late elementary" (grades four to six). Busing and boundary changes were to be used to ensure a racial mix at both levels as well as in the junior and senior high schools.[4]

The committee recommended a detailed three-phase program that was to lead to total desegregation of local schools by September 1971. Phase I, from September 1969 to September 1970, included minority staff recruitment and revised personnel procedures, dismissal of staff found guilty of racially discriminatory actions, inservice training, curriculum revision, and community education regarding desegregation. Phase II, from September 1969 to September 1971, called for followups to Phase I activities, teacher and student exchange visits, and joint PTA meetings between predominantly white and predominantly black schools.

Phase III, in September 1971, included total desegregation through a revised attendance plan using school pairings.[5]

A university computer center developed proposals for specific boundary changes and student school assignments. These were refined by administrators and the board, and were discussed at public hearings in May 1971. The board of education formally adopted the desegregation plan on May 7, 1971, and then held more public hearings to resolve specific problems in the attendance plan.

The implementation of the plan was delayed by the school board after the election in June 1971 of new members opposed to the plan. The school superintendent who had been in charge of developing the plan, Dr. John Cochran, was pressured into resigning by the board soon after the decision to delay its implementation.[6] The Kalamazoo branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People then brought suit against the Kalamazoo Public Schools, asking the court to require implementation of the delayed plan. In August 1971 Federal District Judge Noel P. Fox, Jr. found the Kalamazoo schools to be unlawfully segregated and issued a preliminary injunction requiring implementation of the desegregation plan beginning September 1971. The school board decided to fight the injunction in the district court and, if necessary, through appeals, but counseled parents to obey the law by cooperating with the plan. Thus, Kalamazoo's public schools were desegregated under a Federal court order in the fall of 1971.[7]

After a district court trial ending in 1973 and an unsuccessful appeal by defendants in 1974, the U.S. Supreme Court refused in May 1975 to review the lower courts' finding in the case, thus affirming Judge Fox's original desegregation order. To date, the board of education has spent a minimum of $415,038 for its defense and its negotiated share of plaintiffs' expenses. In November 1976 Judge Fox ordered the State of Michigan, also a defendant in the suit, to pay $357,029 as its share of the plaintiffs' expenses.[8]

Kalamazoo's public schools are now in their sixth year of court-ordered desegregation. In the 1976-77 school year the systemwide minority enrollment is 27 percent. No school has less than 14 percent or greater than 54 percent minority enrollment. Twenty-seven of the 30 Kalamazoo public schools have minority enrollments between 14 and 42 percent.

However, there are also two schools with minority enrollments in excess of 50 percent.[9]

III. IMPLEMENTATION

The final order of the Federal district court making its preliminary injunction permanent did not set specific guidelines for the racial makeup of individual schools, but simply required implementation of the desegregation plan as approved by the board of education in May 1971. The court retains jurisdiction over decisions affecting pupil school assignment and boundary change, but has actually been involved in only two changes in attendance patterns since the court case was originally filed in 1971.

The court's order to proceed with desegregation came 2 weeks before the beginning of school on September 7, 1971. One week later, the Kalamazoo school administration, headed by Acting Superintendent Reed Hagen, published maps and explanations of revised attendance areas, including opening day instructions to parents and students. Similar information had been presented in the board's May 1971 hearings on the plan.

Role of Volunteers

During the 1970-71 school year, when the board of education was completing the desegregation plan, five elementary schools were participating in a federally-funded "Model Schools Program" designed to desegregate those schools on a primarily voluntary, trial basis prior to systemwide desegregation. This project included faculty training, new curriculum materials, increased parental involvement, and reassignment of some students to achieve a racial mix in the schools. Former Superintendent Cochran described the utility of the program as follows:

> This showed clearly the limitations of a voluntary program. It also gave some valuable experience, but most important, it identified a group of parents and teachers who were willing to state

loudly and clearly that they had experienced integration and it worked.[10]

These parents, teachers, and other individuals and groups involved since 1968 in preparing for desegregation volunteered to assist in the first days of the plan's implementation. Parent volunteers were enlisted to answer phones and provide information regarding the attendance plan and transportation procedures, and parents also stationed themselves along bus routes to stand with children waiting for rides. Individual schools held open house to become acquainted with their newly assigned students, and parents accompanied students to their new schools. Hundreds of individuals participated in various voluntary roles during the opening days of school in 1971.

Administration Goals

School administrators initiated changes in several areas in the first years of desegregation. These changes included making schools safer for students and staff, developing programs to ensure that students would not become resegregated after being bused to racially balanced schools, providing consultants and other special services to teachers and principals, and developing a system of goals and accountability for teachers and administrators.

During the first year of desegregation, Kalamazoo Public Schools instituted a systemwide accountability model for all staff. At the start of each school year the superintendent, other administrators, principals, and teachers establish ranked goals for their work during the year. During the tenure of Dr. William Coats, who was appointed superintendent in March 1972, the superintendent had more than 25 systemwide goals with increased student achievement and safety among the highest-ranking.

All personnel were to be assessed at the end of the year by superiors and colleagues. Teachers and parents also participated in assessing the performance of principals. Assessments were quantified for each administrator, and salary changes for administrators are now determined, in part, by the extent of each person's annual achievement of ranked goals.

Teachers also receive student achievement scores by class, by individual student, from students by race, and

beginning- and end-of-year test results. Student and teacher performance is not tied to teacher salary changes, but student achievement is used as one basis for the provision of special services such as counseling, according to school staff.

The goal of desegregating school activities led to changes in school management. One junior high principal stated that student class assignments are now made, in part, with the purpose of desegregating all classes, and that the offering of more elective courses has aided the process. Black students are recruited for accelerated classes, according to another principal. School officials have made special attempts to desegregate all extracurricular activities.

Ensuring minority student access to leadership positions in majority white schools requires extra creativity, according to one administrator. He gave the example of using a ward system for high school student government elections to increase the likelihood of minority students' election to office in schools in which most activities and classes have been desegregated.

According to school administrators, goals such as increasing student achievement, avoiding violence, and preventing resegregation required major outside funding. Former Superintendent Coats reported that "every program facilitating desegregation [excluding normal operating costs such as pupil transportation] was made possible with Federal funds."

During the first 2 years of desegregation the district received grants totaling approximately $500,000 from the Federal Emergency School Assistance Program (ESAP). During the third through sixth years the district received approximately $3.5 million from the Federal Emergency School Aid Act (ESAA). Both types of funds were for the purpose of aiding desegregating districts. During 1975 hearings of a United States Senate appropriations subcommittee examining funding to aid desegregation, Dr. Coats described some of the uses to which these funds have been put:

> The primary new programs in our district supported by ESAA monies have gone to...compile the data necessary to individualize and personalize the instructional process in a desegregated

> setting...[to pay costs of] working with students and parents having desegregation related adjustment problems, and...for the purpose of implementing instructional specialist staffing pattern concepts wherein full-time instructional specialists work on an individual basis with classroom teachers to help these teachers to individualize instruction in desegregated classrooms.[11]

Physical Improvements

According to school administrators and community leaders, desegregation has been accompanied by the physical improvement of several school buildings, particularly in schools that formerly enrolled most minority students. Dr. Coats stated that the district was "forced to improve facilities" after desegregation.

Duane Roberts, the head of the Kalamazoo branch of the NAACP, pointed out that:

> The physical condition of schools was upgraded when they received white students. An example is that when the City Manager's daughter was reassigned to a formerly minority school, repairs that had been requested for a long time were immediately made.

Dr. Charles Warfield, current president of the Kalamazoo Board of Education, noted the effect of desegregation on the physical condition of schools in a December 1974 board meeting, as reported in the Kalamazoo Gazette on December 17, 1974:

> Some of the effects of busing are obvious, Warfield [said]. He noted that formerly black Lincoln School had its floors stripped and cleaned the day after a white parent said they were the filthiest things she had ever seen. And someone was sent in to fix windows in dangerous disrepair immediately after a window fell out on a white student.

Dr. Charles Townsend, former director of the department of research and development and currently acting superintendent, said that the system instituted a 7-year

improvement plan for school buildings at the start of desegregation. He asserted that, by 1976, the physical condition of schools was not correlated with either their location in the city or the proportion of minority enrollment.

Busing

According to the department of research and development of Kalamazoo Public Schools, the school system bused approximately 29 percent of its students (5,000) during each of the 2 years prior to desegregation. During the first 2 years of systemwide desegregation, approximately 60 percent of the students were bused (slightly less than 10,000 in 1972).[12] Kindergarten students are not bused for purposes of desegregation.

Financial costs of all student busing reached 3.3 percent of the district's budget by the second year of desegregation (roughly $800,000 in a budget of approximately $24 million). This represented an increase over the 1.4 percent of the district budget which had been spent on student busing 1 year before desegregation.[13]

According to the 1972 Schools Improvement Committee (a group appointed by the board of education in October 1971 to devise an alternative attendance plan to replace that ordered in August 1971), the court-ordered attendance plan required that approximately 50 percent of white elementary students and 85 percent of black elementary students be bused.[14] School administrators, parents, and community leaders variously estimated the average length of student bus rides to school to be between 10 and 25 minutes one way.

Faculty

The low proportion of minority faculty became an issue for judicial action in the desegregation case in September 1971 when the school board announced plans to dismiss 103 teachers because of insufficient funds. The court noted evidence that such action would cut minority representation among teachers from 8 to 4 percent, and ordered the board to retain the teachers and seek additional funds.[15] Funds later became available through a private gift of $100,000 and an increase in school taxes approved by voters in a referendum.

During the first year of desegregation, 162 teachers (16.6 percent of the system's 975 teachers in 1971), were transferred for desegregation purposes, according to school research staff. A local minister said that some white teachers who had taught at minority schools before desegregation asked to be transferred to the schools to which their students were being reassigned in order to help the students make the change. A minority teacher reported that teachers were not consulted about the transfers beforehand. Robert Sikkenga, head of the Kalamazoo Education Association (KEA, the local teachers' organization), agreed but stated that the KEA had been consulted regarding teacher transfers.

As indicated in appendix A, minority representation among faculty increased from 7 percent in 1970 to 12.2 percent in 1976. The system's goal since 1969 has been to achieve a 20 percent minority representation among faculty.[16] One school board member charged that the Kalamazoo schools have made insufficient efforts to increase the number of minority teachers. Mr. Sikkenga said that the system's affirmative action minority hiring record has been "very poor."

Community Opinion

One school board member who had earlier opposed the mandatory desegregation plan in favor of voluntary desegregation said that initially the biases of parents, staff, and student peer groups led to emotional tension between students of different races. This problem has now abated somewhat, according to the board member, "but it will take 12 years to pull off [desegregation] properly."

Some individuals view the school board's negative opinion of the desegregation plan as a destructive force in the schools and the community. One school official believes that the board's opposition increased tensions in the schools. One community leader said that the board's opposition provided leadership to opponents of the plan in the community.

The media, including the Kalamazoo Gazette newspaper and local radio and television stations, are viewed as having been objective during the implementation of desegregation. One minority parent said:

> The newspaper emphasized the positive. Each day there was something in the paper pointing out small things that were happening [during desegregation] that were good.

Residents and school officials believe that the business leaders of the community were helpful in gaining voter approval of an important increase in the school tax rate.

Religious leaders visited the schools in some cases and later conducted educational activities to aid their parishioners in preparing for desegregation. Most churches avoided dealing directly with the plan; much work by local religious leaders had low visibility and was carried out informally.

Political leaders in Kalamazoo occasionally visited the city's schools and kept themselves abreast of developments there; public officials urged local citizens to obey the law and allow the courts to determine the course of desegregation in Kalamazoo. Local police had only limited involvement in the initial days of desegregation.

Parental opinion during the implementation period was generally that children should attend biracial schools, but that the schools should be within walking distance of home.[17]

IV. EFFECTS OF DESEGREGATION

In 1971-72 there were no schools with greater than 50 percent minority enrollment. In producing this measure of desegregation, Kalamazoo's plan engendered disappointments and controversies as well as valuable achievements and revealed defects as well as virtues.

Racial Isolation

Former Superintendent Coats and others noted that one negative aspect of desegregation is that student participation in extracurricular activities such as Scouting is more difficult because of pupil transportation. Coats also warned:

> You have to watch out for resegregation of students once they reach their schools. This has to be controlled by design and cannot be left up to chance. Schools need to have a day-long plan to ensure that desegregation also occurs at most levels of school life.

In spite of school administration efforts to achieve day-long desegregation in all facets of school life, some persons fear that racial isolation and minority student alienation are still problems. One minority principal attributes the problem, in part, to minority students' fears of white rejection, though the principal said that the data which would document the problem have not been gathered and the question "should be checked out." One minority parent reported that her children, while generally happy with school life, are dissatisfied with their limited access to extracurricular activities.

One board member claimed that parental involvement in school activities such as the PTA decreased after desegregation:

> Parents just withdrew from the schools. The supporters [of the desegregation plan] stayed on but parental involvement is no longer representative of the city as a whole.

School Disorders

Administrators, principals, teachers, and community leaders agree that student interracial violence, both between groups and individuals, has been nearly nonexistent since the first year of desegregation in 1971-72. This contrasts with the amount of group and individual interracial violence reported in the 4 years preceding desegregation. A local minister believes that the decrease in student racial incidents indicates at least a moderate improvement in race relations in schools. He commented that "this might just be a trend unrelated to desegregation, but there is a definite advantage to the increased association between racial groups."

A minority teacher said that the district's two greatest problems before desegregation were fighting and general unruliness in classrooms and halls, and that the violence was "more racial than social in nature." The teacher stated that the two greatest problems since desegregation have been tardiness, truancy, and student violations of rules such as those regarding smoking. A minority parent who supports desegregation and is generally pleased with the current relations among students said that the one area of unruliness that needs attention is the daily bus rides. The parent claimed that the buses are unsupervised and that children "get rough and taunt the driver, and both students and drivers sometimes use objectionable language." The parent believes that the problem could be remedied by providing supervisors to ride the buses.

Two principals commented that racial violence has subsided since desegregation, and both attribute the change to desegregation. One said:

> Before elementary school desegregation students came to this junior high unaware of other races and the trouble began quickly. Now, with every incoming class there is less and less tension between blacks and whites, since each succeeding class has been in a desegregated setting for a

longer time than the preceding class. Seventh grade is too late to mix the races for the first time.

The other principal asserted that:

> Junior high racial violence subsides in direct relation to the number of years of elementary school desegregation.

Former Superintendent Coats testified in March 1975 that Federal funds were one reason for the decline in student interracial violence:

> ...[D]uring the time period in which Kalamazoo has received ESAP and ESAA funds to aid with the implementation of court-ordered desegregation, no school building has been closed due to racial strife. Prior to desegregation when ESAP and ESAA funds were not available, those secondary school buildings having biracial compositions experienced numerous racial disturbances which prompted their closing.[18]

Minority Suspension Rate

One minority teacher and another school official stated that the minority student suspension rate in their opinion is unacceptably high. Each said that excessive minority suspensions are due to some teachers' attitudes toward, and low expectations of, minority students. A junior high school principal reported that high school suspensions occur at a rate of 700 to 800 per year and that most are minority students, but that alternatives to suspension are stressed in his own school. He said that the student and staff disciplinary committees and use of the student government to resolve, in part, student grievances have helped his school achieve both the lowest overall suspension rate and the lowest proportion of minority suspensions in the district.

Teacher Training

Several persons believe that desegregation-related teacher training came too little and too late, with most of it occurring after desegregation actually began. One teacher said that only 25 percent of the system's teachers received direct desegregation training. School officials

noted that "teacher cadres" were formed in each school within which a few teachers were to provide training to others.

Two principals noted that they pushed teachers to ensure that all students would be challenged and urged to participate in the "mainstream of the curriculum," and would feel free to excel in all activities. One minority parent said that "the masses of teachers did cooperate. If they had not, then black kids would not have cooperated with the plan either."

White Flight

Between 1968 and 1970, prior to the beginning of desegregation, white enrollment declined by 1,328 students, a drop of 8.5 percent from the white enrollment in 1968. During the first 2 years of desegregation, 1971-73, white student enrollment declined by 2,099 students, or a drop of 15 percent from the white enrollment in 1970. Between 1973 and 1976 the decline in white enrollment was considerably lower, and between 1975 and 1976 the district's white enrollment declined by only 56 students, or 0.5 percent of the white enrollment in the preceding year. Minority enrollment has increased an average of 4.9 percent annually since 1970.

One board member who had opposed the desegregation plan believes that the plan encouraged white flight from the district as a whole, and said he had noted a resulting increase in parochial school enrollments. Two community leaders agreed that some flight has occurred, but one stated that there was relatively little flight from previously white schools which are now receiving black students. A minority administrator said that there "had been some white flight out of the city or to private schools, but this was not a large problem. Most whites adopted a 'wait and see' attitude." In his March 1975 U.S. Senate testimony, former Superintendent Coats said, "...[O]ur most recent enrollment data indicate that the Kalamazoo Public Schools had a smaller percentage decline in student enrollment than did surrounding suburban schools."[19]

In a 1975 study of enrollment changes in the Kalamazoo Public Schools before and during desegregation, James J. Bosco and Stanley S. Robin, researchers at Western Michigan University, found:

> In Kalamazoo, the data showed no unusual decline in the school population for the two years which occurred after the initiation of busing.
>
> ...[Also] there is less of a decline in the three most recent years of busing than was evident in the pre-busing years.
>
> ...[And] in Kalamazoo, the [decrease] in post-busing enrollment seems to grow smaller (and in some cases increments appear) with each ensuing year after the initiation of busing.[20]

Dr. Coats also noted in his Senate testimony that, while property values in Kalamazoo initially declined following the start of desegregation:

> ...these values have been appreciating for the past two to three years [1973-75] at a rate equal to or above real estate values in surrounding areas as reported by members of the Kalamazoo County Board of Realtors.[21]

The head of the local NAACP reported that whites are now moving back into the school district.

Quality of Education

The Kalamazoo Public Schools department of research and development conducted a longitudinal study of changes in student achievement, student attitudes toward school in general, parent attitudes, and other factors during the implementation of desegregation.[22] Data were collected through questionnaires and the schools' regular achievement tests covering the year prior to desegregation and the first 2 years of actual desegregation. Dr. David E. Bartz, now assistant superintendent for instruction, wrote the still unreleased final report of the study. He summarizes findings in two vital areas as follows:

Student academic achievement:

> 1. By May of 1972 in the first year of desegregation we found that both black and white elementary and secondary students declined considerably, on the average, in academic achievement.

2. By May of 1973 we found that student academic achievement had increased significantly, especially as compared to what took place during the first year.

Student school attitudes:

1. By May of 1972 we found that students, in general, responded less positively to their overall school environment than one year before desegregation.

2. By May of 1973 we found that students' opinions of school were significantly more positive than they had been in May 1971, the year before desegregation.

Dr. Bartz said of these findings:

> These data confirm what we already knew intuitively--that desegregation is initially difficult for children, but given effective, additional services and programs, that difficulty can be overcome. The children themselves have proven that.

In his Senate testimony, former Superintendent Coats stated that, based on 1973-74 student achievement test scores:

> An examination of achievement gains in grades one through six...indicates that students in Kalamazoo have been acquiring basic skills at an above average rate for the past two years.

Dr. Coats attributed the reported gains to the district's use of Federal funds:

> ESAA monies made a significant contribution to these achievement gains in that new programs were implemented and additional personnel were hired and held accountable for the results of these programs.[23]

Test scores for the 1974-75 school year indicate accelerated educational progress by Kalamazoo's public school students. For instances, tests reveal that in 1974-

75, the average white fourth grader demonstrated 13 months of academic growth in 8 months of school. The average minority fourth grader did not match this level of achievement but nevertheless showed scores indicating 9 months of academic growth in an 8-month learning period. However, minorities in Kalamazoo still are scoring below the national norm in their composite Metropolitan Achievement Test (MAT) results; their performance on the MAT in 1975 was below the norm but markedly less so than in 1972, the first year of desegregation. In 1972 white students were also scoring at or below the MAT norm, but by 1973, these students had reversed this standing and had moved significantly above the national MAT levels.[24]

One community leader noted the rising achievement scores in the district but believes it "is hard to say if desegregation itself is a cause of the improvement." "Many factors" were involved, he said, and added:

> The present administration is pursuing a rather rigid way of goal-setting and of giving achievement tests that seems to inhibit teachers' freedom and creativity. Testing itself is sometimes elevated in importance above the educational process. There is much 'goal-type' paperwork.

One junior high school principal, however, stressed that student achievement gains are directly related to desegregation as it has been implemented in Kalamazoo. He said:

> Now the schools are free to focus on performance and academics, since desegregation has eliminated the racial conflicts and the cost of controlling those conflicts. In my school we need fewer crisis staff and it is now a quiet school.

But a member of the board of education who had opposed the current desegregation plan disagrees:

> Desegregation has had no effect on overall educational quality in the school district. The improvements have come because of the commitment of the administration and the board [to improve educational quality].

Another member who had opposed the plan said that:

> The academic improvements are only indirectly related to desegregation because of the Federal funds received for aid in desegregation. Our superintendent would probably have done the same kinds of things without desegregation.

Finally, former Superintendent Coats asserted:

> The value of desegregation is social, not academic. Student achievement is a separate issue and needs to be addressed directly, as does the issue of providing a safe learning environment. We have tried to do all of these things in Kalamazoo.

V. FINDINGS

Effectiveness of the Desegregation Attendance Plan

The attendance plan implemented by the Kalamazoo Public Schools under Federal court order in 1971 has significantly reduced the degree of concentration of minority students in the schools of that district. The district, however, still has two schools in which minority students make up more than 50 percent of enrollment.

Student Interracial Tensions and Opinions About School

Student interracial tensions have decreased during the 6 years of court-ordered desegregation. Moreover, student interracial violence, a major problem in secondary schools during the 4 years preceding desegregation, is no longer a problem in the schools. Following an initial decline during the first year of desegregation, student opinions about school grew more positive than they had been a year before desegregation.

Student Achievement Levels

Following an initial decline in student achievement scores during the first year of desegregation, test scores have risen consistently since 1972. Minority students still score below national norms, but less so than previously.

Impact of Federal Funds to Aid Desegregation

Federal funds available to the district since 1970 under Title IV of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, the Emergency School Assistance Program, and the Emergency School Aid Act have supported special services and programs designed to assist students and parents in adjusting to desegregation and to individualize instruction in a desegregated setting. A systemwide accountability management model and continuing evaluative research have contributed to the district's effective use of Federal funds.

Rate of Decline in White Student Enrollment

Following a significant decline in white enrollment, which began before desegregation and continued through the second year of desegregation, white enrollment declines have slowed significantly. Only 56 fewer white students were enrolled in the district's schools in September 1976 than 1 year previously. School administrators report that current enrollment declines in the Kalamazoo Public Schools are smaller than in some surrounding suburban school districts.

NOTES

1. Information on student racial incidents from 1967 to 1971 is from a file compiled at the direction of Judge Noel P. Fox, Jr., of the District Court of the United States for the Western District of Michigan for use in the case of Oliver v. Kalamazoo Board of Education.

2. Unless otherwise credited, information in this report is derived from interviews conducted by staff of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights during February 1976 in Kalamazoo, Mich.

3. Kalamazoo Public Schools, Office of the Superintendent, School Integration (1968).

4. Kalamazoo Public Schools, Report of the Racial Balance Committee (1969) (hereafter cited as Report of the Racial Balance Committee).

5. Ibid.

6. Oliver v. Kalamazoo Bd. of Educ., 346 F. Supp. at 774 (W.D. Mich. 1971).

7. Oliver v. Kalamazoo Bd. of Educ., 346 F. Supp. 766 (W.D. Mich. 1971); 368 F. Supp. 143 (W.D. Mich. 1973); 508 F.2d 178 (6th Cir. 1974); cert. denied, 421 U.S. 963 (1975).

8. Victor Rauch, "Loose Ends Left After Bus Ruling," Kalamazoo Gazette, May 13, 1975; and William Grant, "Judge Levies Big Fee in Integration Lawsuit," Detroit Free Press, Nov. 7, 1976.

9. Michigan schools which are more than 50 percent minority in districts having a majority of white students are considered by Michigan Department of Education staff to be "racially impacted." In such cases the entire district is also considered to be racially impacted. In districts where more than 50 percent of all students are minorities, schools and total districts are considered to be racially impacted if one or more schools contain 50 percent or more white students. State department of education staff noted that this guideline is currently only an administrative device

for classifying schools and districts and has not been adopted by the State board of education as a matter of policy. John Dobbs, special assistant to the superintendent, Michigan Department of Education, telephone interview, Nov. 5, 1976.

10. John Cochran, "Voluntary vs. Involuntary Desegregation," in Proceedings of Conference on Developments in School Desegregation, ed. Charles D. Moody, Charles B. Vergon, and John A. Taylor (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan School of Education, 1972), p. 93.

11. William D. Coats, then superintendent of the Kalamazoo Public Schools, testimony before the Subcommittee on Labor and Health, Education, and Welfare of the Committee on Appropriations of the U.S. Senate, Mar. 3, 1975, pp. 3-4 (hereafter cited as Coats Testimony).

12. Information supplied by Kalamazoo Public Schools, department of research and development.

13. Ibid.

14. Kalamazoo Public Schools, 1972 Schools Improvement Committee, Final Report (1972), p. 9.

15. Oliver v. Kalamazoo Bd. of Educ., 346 F. Supp. at 783, 797 (W.D. Mich. 1971).

16. Report of the Racial Balance Committee, p. 6.

17. David E. Bartz, James W. Boothe, and William D. Coats, paper on findings from phases 1 and 2 of "A Longitudinal Study of Desegregation in Kalamazoo, Michigan" (delivered at the convention of the American Psychological Association, Honolulu, Hawaii, Sept. 7, 1972), p. 31 (hereafter cited as Longitudinal Study). The parental opinion survey was part of this study.

18. Coats Testimony, p. 7.

19. Ibid., p. 2.

20. James J. Bosco and Stanley S. Robin, "White Flight from Busing?: A Second, Longer Look," Urban Education (October 1976), pp. 264, 268, 272.

21. Coats Testimony, p. 2.

22. Longitudinal Study.

23. Coats Testimony, pp. 5-6.

24. Kalamazoo Public Schools, department of research and development, 1974-75 Metropolitan Achievement Test Results, System-Wide (1975).

APPENDIX A

RACIAL REPRESENTATION AMONG STUDENTS AND FACULTY

KALAMAZOO PUBLIC SCHOOLS

1970-1976

Student Enrollment

	Amer. Ind. (%)	Black (%)	Asian Amer. (%)	Span. Surn. (%)	All Others (%)	Total
1970(Est.)	20 (0.1)	2,803 (16.2)	58 (0.3)	119 (0.7)	14,285 (82.6)	17,285
1971	18 (0.1)	2,840 (17.5)	51 (0.3)	131 (0.8)	13,166 (81.2)	16,206
1972	35 (0.2)	2,977 (19.3)	71 (0.5)	147 (1.0)	12,186 (79.0)	15,416
1973	38 (0.3)	3,147 (21.1)	67 (0.4)	163 (1.1)	11,508 (77.1)	14,923
1974	44 (0.3)	3,283 (22.5)	72 (0.5)	153 (1.0)	11,055 (75.7)	14,607
1975	45 (0.3)	3,381 (23.2)	92 (0.6)	186 (1.3)	10,847 (74.5)	14,551
1976	40 (0.3)	3,632 (24.6)	90 (0.6)	222 (1.5)	10,791 (73.0)	14,775

Faculty Composition

	Amer. Ind. (%)	Black (%)	Asian Amer. (%)	Span. Surn. (%)	All Others (%)	Total
1970	- -	68 (6.6)	4 (0.4)	- -	956 (93.0)	1,028
1971	- -	68 (7.0)	4 (0.4)	- -	903 (92.6)	975
1972	3 (0.3)	67 (7.3)	2 (0.2)	- -	846 (92.2)	918
1973	3 (0.3)	75 (8.4)	4 (0.4)	1 (0.1)	812 (90.7)	895
1974	3 (0.3)	96 (10.6)	5 (0.6)	1 (0.1)	799 (88.4)	904
1975	2 (0.2)	96 (10.6)	5 (0.6)	4 (0.4)	798 (88.2)	905
1976	1 (0.1)*	95 (10.8)	5 (0.6)	6 (0.7)	772 (87.8)	879

*Native American representation is actually higher, and administration is currently using self-identification to correct the figure, according to Kalamazoo School Staff.

Source: Kalamazoo Public Schools, Departments of Research and Development and Employee Relations, February and November 1976.

APPENDIX B

Minority Student Representation by School
Kalamazoo Public Schools
1968-69; 1971-72 and 1976-77

Schools	1968 Minority % *	1971 Minority %	1976 Minority %
Elementary Schools			
Arcadia	4%	17%	28%
Brucker	2%	20%	33%
Burke	1%	18%	28%
Chime	2%	13%	14%
Edison	17%	15%	24%
Fairview	0%	(Closed)	
Grand Prairie	2%	(Closed)	
Greenwood	0%	13%	19%
Hillcrest	1%	(Closed)	
Indian Prairie	3%	14%	14%
Lakewood	1%	11%	19%
Lincoln	96%	34%	48%
McKinley	8%	16%	25%
Milwood	1%	15%	21%
Northglade	88%	48%	54%
Oakwood	1%	20%	36%
Parkwood	0%	11%	17%
Peter Pan	0%	(Closed)	
Pleasant Park	2%	(Closed)	
Roosevelt	41%	27%	(Closed)
So. Westnedge	5%	15%	16%
Spring Valley	7%	18%	28%
Vine	2%	22%	31%
Washington	5%	16%	20%
West Main	9%	27%	26%
Westwood	0%	20%	25%
Wilson	2%	20%	40%
Winchell	1%	21%	27%
Woodward	49%	26%	54%
Junior High Schools			
Hillside	21%	28%	29%
Milwood	1%	10%	18%
Northeastern	12%	21%	32%
Oakwood	2%	14%	41%
South	23%	19%	21%
Senior High Schools			
Central	18%	20%	25%
Norrix	3%	10%	22%
System-wide Enrollment	15%	19%	27%
Range of Minority Percentage in Schools	0% - 96%	10% - 48%	14% - 54%
Number of Schools Over 50 Percent Minority	2	None	2

*"Minority" includes Native Americans, Blacks, Asian Americans, and Latinos.

Source: Kalamazoo Public Schools, Department of Research and Development, Child Accounting Department, February and November, 1976 and "Report of the Racial Balance Committee," August 18, 1969.

* U. S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE : 1977 725-506/258